Weekly National Intelligencer.

WASHINGTON: SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1854.

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MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1854.

THE SUBLIME OF ASSURANCE.

It is as difficult to measure the conceit which dietated the subjoined letter as it is to speak of its unmeasured presumption in terms of propriety. Extreme, however, as is the assurance which it displays, it ought hardly to surprise any body who recollects the ovations bestowed on the writer in a great portion of our country three or four years ago. The extravagant-we had almost said the revolting homoge lavished on him during his triumphal follows: progress through our Northern, Western, and Middle States, an extravagance of which we could not suppress our disapproval at the time, was enough to turn a stronger head than nature had placed on of the representatives elected and returned, 158 Demothe shoulders of Mons. Kossuth; and this letter is one of its legitimate fruits. We have no doubt that his worshippers, high and low, have long since seen the folly of their thoughtless adulation.

KOSSUTH'S ADDRESS.

To the German population of the U. States, on the rejection of Grouge N. Saunders, & neuron Consul at London.

The following address from Governor Kossurn to the German population of the United States, on the rejection by the Senate of George N. Sanders, sent by the President as United States Consul at London, was forwarded to Dr. S. G. Howe, of Boston, the intimate friend and correspondent of Governor Kossuth in this country:

No. 21 Alpha Road, Regent's Park,

LONDON, MARCH 2, 1854. RESPECTED SIE: The steamer last arrived from New York brought us the intelligence, much to be regretted, that the Senate of the United States had not approved of the nomination of Mr. George N. Sanders as U. S. Con-sul at London. Knowing what an influential part Mr. Sanders had in the overwhelming victory of the Demo-cratic party in the Presidential election, and having had occasion to observe the zeal and energy which Mr. Sanders showed in maintaining and advancing the commer-cial interests of the United States, and at the same time having frequently witnessed the satisfaction and the connce which he enjoys of such of his countrymen doing business at this place, as well as the esteem which he had already acquired, the resolution of the Senate might have well taken us greatly by surprise, by its seeming inconsistency, if not want of principle. Yet I am too much accustomed to respect the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a foreign country to allow myself to make a remark in regard to that which, in this melancholy affair, concerns only the domestic policy of the United States. But the matter has a further bearing; it touches in its effects our own sacred interests, the liberty of the oppressed nations of Europe, and the fun principles upon this continent.

Mr. Consul Sanders has in this regard proved himself here to be a real republican, a man of principle. He has given us the spectacle of a real American statesman; one who does not deny, in the position of an officer of his Government abroad, the republican principles which he professes in his own country. In his official connexions, Majesty .- Union. whether of a diplomatic, political, or social natureappoint us-he has, as consultof the United States, provimself a supporter of political exiles, a warm friend of the cause of European liberty, and has ever been ready to render any service that was not incompatible with the responsibilities and duties of his office to all of us who

are working for the triumph of the republican principle. animated by the wish to be a true and worthy representative of republican America, he had proved himself, by his public and private demeanor, a firm supporter of republican principles. And this has been to us a serthe more valuable the more it has become apparent that the political situation of Europe will soon reach a crisis where a renewal of the struggle of freedom against oppression is near and unavoidable. I would be unjust towards the people of the United States if I did not assert that such behavior, in such moments, toward the repub-licans of Europe, as Mr. Sanders has shown and continues to show, is calculated to command, besides our poor thanks, the confidence and satisfaction of the sovereign people of the United States of America, and to make him serve well of the honor, consistency, and interests of his nation. It is under such circumstances, sir, that the Hopp, former Democratic member of Congress; B. F. Senate of the United States refuse their confirmation to Leiter, former Democratic Speaker of the Ohio House

The Senate have, by this unexpected act, dealt a heavy blow to the cause of European liberty; for thereby not only do we find ourselves deprived of the warm sympathy and active support which was bestowed on us by Mr. Sanders, in the sphere of his legitimate authority, but, what is more, the Senate have, by their act, led to the interpretation that they disavow sympathy for the cause of European liberty, and will not suffer their diplomatic agents in Europe to favor the triumph of republican principles. I am far from believing that such an intent, to wit, to injure the cause of European liberty, has determined even one single member of the Senate in casting his vote. If such was the case, we might despair of the vitality of republican principles; yet it is certain that this resolution, although unintentional, has produced such a result. The despotic cabinets of Europe are in exultation about it. They regard it as a practical retraction and a remarkable recantation of the principles pronounced in the inaugural address and the Koszta letter. They think that the Senate have removed Mr. Sanders for that very reason, because he, above all, has verified his republic istency in his social relations with the republicans of They take it as a proof that the lespots have nothing to fear from the Government of America, while we have nothing to hope from it. And while this brings such a look of scornful triumph from the eyes of the despots, it has a depressing effect on the public spirit of the people; and that, too, in the present critical moment, the assurance of the sympathy of republican America is so important, so encouraging, and beneficial. Such is the heavy moral blow dealt by the Senate to the cause

of European freedom.

If the Senate has not done this intentionally, as I believe most assuredly, it is to be regretted that this honorable body, surrounded with the darkness of petty party s, have not considered the bearing and consequence

The recollection of the history of the United States, and the logical tradition of the fundamental principles of the foundation of States, gare us to expect that America would assist in the cause of freedom in Europe. The present President, at least, acknowledged that America s vet indebted for her freedom to Europe. Even if she do not choose to be of any use to us, we may reasonably ask of her not to interfere with our interests. This we have a right to demand before God, the world, and

But America has injured us; the Senate, by their resolution, gave us a hard blow. What I experienced in America makes me confidently believe that the opinion of the soveleign people cannot approve such an action. Toe often, also, did I hear that the elected servants of the people considered it their highest honor and duty to be the exponent of the wishes of the people, to doubt that when the public express their will in a constitutional way, at in unmerstackly terms, the President of the United yet in unmetakeable terms, the President of the United States will embrace with peasure the opportunity of his high station to propose Mr. Sanders again as Consul to London, and the Senate, comidering seriously the political consequence of their rejection, will unanimously approve the proposition, and by this act show the world that not only the egislative body of a republican country will not give way a personal selices betty of the second selection. will not give way to personal helings, but will do all in their power that in unch a critical moment the European nations shall not have reason to lespair of the sympathy of the United States, thus teaching the despots of Europe

THE WEEKLY NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER. that the republican sympathies of a republican functionary give him the surest claim to the confidence of the

had sown for raising up sympathy for the liberty of Eu-rope especially to the nursing of the German citizens of America; for it is they who combine the republican principles of their new home with love for the old fatherland; and the free future of the dear old fatherland is a solidarity with the future of the other nationalities of

We have now arrived at that critical period predicted by me when this future is to be decided for centuries to come. One grain more thrown into the scale may decide it. Therefore I address you, sir, beseeching you so to exercise your influence, and that of your friends, that by the means of the press, as well as by meetings of distinct remarks. I regret, sir, that I feel under any necessity the means of the press, as well as by meetings of distinct remarks. I regret, sir, that I feel under any necessity tendency, the will of the people may manifest itself in this affair in such a way as is now so necessary, that the heavy blow which the Senate has unintentionally dealt tude of the friends of the bill for its immediate passage. o European liberty may be remedied, and the scornful ridicule of the despots be changed into a triumph for think, forbid me to forbear. My own relf-respect would the republicans of Europe. I have the honor to sign myself, with high consideration, your devoted L. KOSSUTH.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION, AGAIN.

The Concord Reporter has another calculation with respect to the political character of the New Hampshire House of Representatives elect, which comes between the Whig and Patriot estimates, as into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was absent from the city when this bill was first reported

"We give in this paper a complete list of the representatives elected from all the towns in the State except three. We designate the political character of the memthree members to come in as Democrats, the House will stand 156 Democrats to 154 opposition. To make this result we claim as Democrats some half-a-dozen members who are also claimed as Freesoilers, but we believe we have rightly designated them as Democrats. We think our estimate will be found correct, but the assembling of the Legislature can only fully determine where the ma-

A very close calculation surely. The Concord "Statesman" of Saturday contains the names of the Representatives elect, whom it classes as follows: Democrats of all shades 150, and Opposition 157, with two members to hear from.

CUBAN STOCK GOING DOWN.

It is fair, we presume, to draw from the fact announced in the annexed paragraph an inference unfavorable to the prospects of the New York Cuban Junta. Unless they have obtained a supply of muskets from other quarters, which is not probable. they would hardly have let Mr. LAW's cheap stock nate; finding, upon inquiry, that the general sentiment slip through their fingers if their exchequer had of Southern Senators was favorable to the measure, they would hardly have let Mr. LAW's cheap stock enabled them to prevent it.

NEW YORK, MARCH 25. Law's Muskers .- The famous muskets have gone off at last. Law is reported to have sold his two hundred thousand guns, for something like a million of dollars, to some person in London concocting revolutionary designs in Europe. The clipper barque Grape Shot was purchased some time since by George Law for twenty-four thousand dollars, and sailed yesterday for Constantinople, freighted with those guns, which have been so long at rest.

We understand that Mr. EDWARD DE STOECKL, who was for many years First Secretary to the Russian Legation in this country, vesterday presented his credentials to the Secretary of State, and was received as Chargé d'Affaires of his Imperial

In Michigan the Hon. KINSLEY S. BINGHAM, formerly a Democratic member of Congress from that State, has accepted the nomination of the Independent Democracy as their candidate for Governor at the next election, and has taken the field against the Nebraska bill.

ANTI-NEBRASKA CONVENTION IN OHIO. An Anti-Nebraska Convention was held at Columbus, Ohio, on the 22d instant, composed of persons from all parts of the State. Notwithstanding the weather was inclement, the attendance was large. Judge J. R. SWANN, of Columbus, presided, assisted by a number of Vice Presidents. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the Nebraska bill as a breach of the Missouri compromise, and endorsing the action of the Ohio Senators in Congress. Messrs. D. K. CARTER, formerly Democratic Representative to Congress from Stark county ; JACOB BRINKER-HOFF. former Democratic member of Congress; B. F. of Representatives; S. P. Chase, member of the United States Senate; Mr. Collins, formerly a Democratic member of Congress from Lewis county, New York; and Sam. GALLOWAY, late Whig Secretary of State of Ohio, were among the speakers.

ANTI-NEBRASKA MEETING AT ALBANY. The anti-Nebraska meeting held at Albany on Thursday evening is spoken of by the Albany Journal and Atlas as very large and spirited. The meeting was presided over by WILLIAM PARMELEE, the Mayor of Albany. Messrs. Amos DEAN, BRADFORD R. WOOD, and others made speeches. A series of resolutions against the Nebraska bill were passed, of which the following is one:

Resolved, That this meeting recommend that a State Convention, to consist of a delegation from each Assempracticable, for the purpose of adopting measures to unite the opponents of this scheme for repudiating the Missouri compromise, and to resist all future attempts of the same kind; and that for the accomplishment of this purpose the President and Vice Presidents of this meeting, or a majority of them, be appointed a Committee of

The following letter from the Hon. Ogdan Hoffman. to the meeting :

ALBANY, MARCH 23. Sin: It would afford me great gratification to meet to-night with "the citizens of Albany who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise," and unite my extent of territory now inhabited by wild Indians, the the repeal of the Missouri compromise," and unite my voice with theirs in opposition to the "Nebraska bill," measure evidently contemplated the exhaustion of all the but a temporary affection of my throat forbids my taking most desirable portions of the public domain in a few

deeply regret the agitation which the introduction of this generation. I was of the opinion that there was bill and its passage by the Senate of the United States cessity arising from a crowded population in the f have produced. "The greater is yet behind."

South; for the South will find that "they who sow the to throw open so large an extent of new country for set. wind must reap the whirlwind."

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c. OGDEN HOFFMAN.

business.

DEATH FROM PRIGHT. - Ellen Deere, a factory girl of Lowell, was "frightened to death" in that city on Wednesday evening. She left her boarding house in perfect health, at eight o'clock, with another young woman, to health, at eight o'clock, with another young woman, to make some purchases, and on returning home she passed through a dark passage-way; supposed that she was followed by some one, ran with her companion to her boarding house, and fell nearly dead upon the sidewalk in front of the door. She breathed but a few moments after being carried into the house, and died of fright; from the effect of imagination, or from the wanton foolishness of some inconsiderate person. SPEECH OF MR. BELL, OF TENNESSEE.

American Government.

When I left America I bequeathed the seed which I On the bill to establish the Nebraska and Kansas Territories, and to repeal the Missouri Compromise.

IN SENATE, MARCH 3, 1854.

The Senate having under consideration the bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas-

Mr. BELL said : Mr. President, I feel greatly embarrassed in undertaking to address the Senate at this time, particularly since the sentiment of the body has been se decidedly expressed, not only in regard to the feature But the relations in which I stand to this measure,

member; but I was present when the amendment to the original bill, containing a provision for the virtual repeal of the Missouri compromise, was under consideration in the committee. It was the first time that the bill of this se, was under consideration in

session in any shape fell under my notice.

The first notice I had that the repual of the Missouri compromise was in contemplation by any one was the introduction of the bill for that purpose by my friend from Kentucky, (Mr. Dixon,) not, as I was informed, that my friend meant to assume the responsibility of origina-ting such a proposition, but to make the object explicit and unequivocal which seemed to be implied in one pro-vision of the bill as first reported. The honorable chairman of the Committee on Territories (Mr. Douglas) knows that I had barely time, when this bill was first brought to my notice in committee, to glance over its provisions. I saw that the objections I had urged to the Nebraska bill of the last session of Congress would apply to the measure then before the committee; and my impressions against the expediency of introducing any clause affecting the Missouri compromise were strong; but, as I had not considered the proposition in all its aspects, I agreed that the amendment might be reported; but, as the honorable chairman of the committee will do me the ustice to admit, I did so with the express reservation of the privilege of opposing the passage of the bill, if, upon a careful examination of the subject, I should feel it my duty to do so. [Mr. Douglas bowed his assent to the correctness of the statement.]

The question of the repeal of the Missouri compromise being thus fairly presented for consideration to the Se-

of a large number of Northern gentlemen; approving, as I did, the principle of the compromise acts of 1850, and not wishing to separate myself from my friends, I resolved to take no step in opposition until I should have full time to consider the subject in all its bearings, and be able to supply the deficiencies of my own judgment and experi-ence from the lights which might be shed by others on the subject in the discussion. I have accordingly voted uniformly with my Southern friends on all questions of amendment, without any particular examination on my part as to their wisdom or propriety, and leaving it to them to perfect the bill in any way they thought expedient and proper. I have listened with profound interest and attention to all that has been said in debate on both sides of the question. I have sought to be enlightened in the private conferences of the friends of the bill, and have given the subject the most serious reflection to see if I could discover any sufficient grounds or reasons to overrule the objections which had presented themselves to my mind in favor of the course of my friends from the South. I make this statement, not that I suppose any views which I may now be able to present upon this subexplain my silence during the preceding discussion I now proceed to consider the provisions of this bill which appear to me to present the most serious and important objections.

My first objection to the Nebraska bill of the last session of Congress was, that there was no necessity for the measure: that it was a novelty in the legislation of this country; that as far back as I remembered it was an anomally in the practice of the Government to propose to organize Territorial governments Over a large extent of territory in which there were no white inhabitantsmean no white inhabitants except those who were the officials of the Government, soldiers, missionaries, or litensed traders-no white population to demand the pro-Territorial government. looking over the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I find the statement that as late as Octo there were but three white men in the whole of that vast territory, except the class already alluded to. There may be four or five hundred or more now, for any thing that know; but I still think and maintain that this measure s uncalled for at this time.

The answer given to that objection at the last session-

nd I mean to deal fairly with the whole argument, so far as I have time to do it—by the honorable chairman of the Committee on Territories, was, that it was important to invite settlements upon the great line of emigration from the western boundary of the States to California and Orcgon. I admit there was some force in this; out and did not see that it was so important as to amount to a necessity, or the case so urgent as to justify a departur from the long established policy of the Government, by organizing Territorial governments in advance of settlements, and particularly before the numerous wild Indian tribes inhabiting the country were reconciled to the measure by treaties, and a proper disposition was made of those emigrant tribes which held a portion of the country under the most solemn assurances on the part of the Gov ernment that they should never be exposed to the pres-

sure of a white population.

My second objection to the Nebraska bill of the last session was, that it proposed to organize a Territorial bly district, be held in the city of Albany, as soon as government, and to throw open for settlement the whole extent of the country lying west of Missouri and Iowa, which is now Indian territory, guarded and protected against the intrusion of a white population by a statute of thirty sections, besides the faith of treaties applicable to numerous emigrant tribes; thus bringing an unneces sary pressure upon the wild Indian tribes, and tending to drive them to desperation by the destruction of the principal source of their subsistence, the buffalo, which, The following letter from the Hon. Ogden Hoffman, you know, sir, will disappear upon the first clear crack the Attorney General of the State of New York, was read of the frontier rifle and the ominous appearance of the

settler in the neighborhood of their haunts. I objected further, sir, that in addition to the Indian part in any public discussions.

I regard the opposition to the Nebraska bill, as has been well said, as a contest for plighted faith, for the sanctity of a solemn compact, for justice and freedom. I cessity arising from a crowded population in the frontier States, or from any deficiency of good unappropriated I regret it for the North, and I more regret it for the lands in those States, to justify a measure which proposes

I contended that the population in the border States was OGDEN HOFFMAN.

The receipts of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for the present month, including the Washington Branch, will be nearly \$400,000, showing a large increase of Indiana and sparse, and that there was within their limits an abundant supply of good lands, inviting settlement and cultivation, both by native citizens and foreign emigrants. Two years ago I objected to the treaty for the purchase of the territory which belonged to the Sioux Indiana in the Territory of Mineral Indiana and Sparse, and that there was within their limits an abundant supply of good lands, inviting settlement and cultivation, both by native citizens and foreign emigrants. Indians, in the Territory of Minnesota, upon the ground that it would open a vast wilderness for detached and irregular settlement, when there was no adequate necessity the measure; and I showed, if I remember aright that there were then about one hundred and twenty millions of acres of good land surveyed and open to entry and settlement in the adjoining States, after deducting from ten to twenty per cent. for lands unfit for cultivation. Nevertheless that treaty, costing the Government some five millions of dollars, was ratified by the Senate, and an additional supply of between twenty-five and and an additional supply of between twenty-five and thirty millions of acres of land was thus provided for new tom the settlements; and, notwithstanding the late increase in the sa his is a grand project, and as no great plans are sale and settlement of the public lands in the northwest, plished without great sacrifices, would I impede to

for the acquisition of these lands?

the interior of the continent; for the Territories contem-What additional mitary force will be needed? What the honorable Senator will not be offended at any thing new military posts all be required? And at what cost to the Government arithese wild and savage Indians to be ruled in peace or offended in war? for their resentment with the honorable Senator will not be offended at any thing I have said on this point.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Certainly not. [Laughter.]

Mr. PELL. I come now to a further objection urged ruled in peace or dercome in war? for their resentment and hostility, it is hardly to be supposed, will be forethe white man proses to take up his abode upon their nacient hunting founds.

Mr. President is most unfortunate for the public in-

there should be one of such paramount interest as to abmy attentio was arrested by the fact that the boundaries of the Territory of Nebraska, proposed to be organized by this bill had been extended to the extreme northern of the last session was limited to the forty-third degree

gitude containing near five hundred thousand square miles and three hundred millions of acres of land-territory in the aggregate sufficient for the formation of twelve new States, averaging over forty thousand square miles to the State; and, but for the desert and sterile nearly or quite to the British possessions. That number of States would, in time, be founded within the area embraced in this bill; but we may reasonably estimate that eight or ten new States will ultimately be formed out of this vast territory.

Will the honorable chairman of the committee explain

to us the necessity for incorporating into this bill this peases of negotiating with the Indian tribes; thus inditlements speedily into every part of the country embraced within the limits of these new Territories. I doubt not this provision of the bill. I know his resources. I know that he does not act without motives or a purpose, and as he has given us no expositions of his views upon this point, I trust he will indulge me in conjecturing what they may be. That I mean nothing offensive or unkind to the upon a full consideration of his policy, as shadowed forth in this bill, taking it altogether, I am at a loss which most to admire, the genius or the boldness of his conception. And I can tell honorable Senators around me that, when that Senator shall be arraigned before the tribunal of the public in the Northwest for his advocacy of any feature of this bill which may be obnoxious to them, and he shall come to unfold the grandeur of his plans and the skill with which he managed to combine in their support both the North and the South, they will speak trumpet tongued in his defence. I trust the honorable Senator understands me; but I will nevertheless say to him that although, by the offer of a principle, an abstraction-a dangerous temptation to Southern Senators, which I fear will prove utterly barren, bearing neither fruit nor flower—he has drawn into the support of his plans the whole South and Southwest, yet, if he will give me but a reasonable answer to the objections I have taken to this provision of the bill, I will go with him in its support. admit his plans to be statesmanlike, if they can be ac-complished without the sacrifice of other great public interests. If he will answer as I propose, I will go with him, in as hot haste as he can desire, not only in extending the settlements on the margin of the Platte and Kansas, but to the crest of the Rocky Mountains; thus indi-cating the route of a railroad to San Francisco, having a terminus at some point on the western boundary of Iowa or Missouri; and then I will go with him for the immediate extension of settlements on the great line passing through Minresota Territory, crossing the waters of the Red River of the North ; passing thence across the Misslope, and onward to Puget Sound, thus securing the early construction of another great railroad.

Mr. DOUGLAS. As the Ser lator seems to shadow forth some grand scheme which is to be developed here, and then points significantly to my appearing before the peo-ple, I feel it to be due to my self to say that I have no cheme that has not already been avowed in my speech I have no defence to make at home that has not been avowed in my opening speech, a nd will be avowed again. No other ground will be taken; 1 to other defence will be made. I think that it is due to : myself to make that re-

Mr. BELL. I do not make a ny charge against the honorable Senator that can be regarded as offensive. He may never be put upon his defence, for his support of any feature in this bill; I trust he never will. I was pledging myself to the honorable Senator th at if he would give me any sufficient explanation or exp osition of the points of objection I have taken as to the west extent of this country which he proposes to embrace; in the new Territories, the departure he purposes from the long-established and guarded policy of the Government in the interposition of some barrier to the intrusion o. the white man, and the farmation of desired to the intrusion of the white man, and the formation of detached settlemen its in a country occupied by wild and savage Indian trib es, far beyond the regularly advanced line of frontier se ttlements, and the throwing open at once unnecessarily the whole public domain, I will go with him in the accomplia hment of his

great schemes. I am aware that the Senator may inquire of me, if he should fail to answer all my objections sa tisfactorily, whether I would let any consideration due to sixty or seventy thou and wild Indians who range ovar this vast territory and subsist upon the buffalo keep it closed against the set lement of the white man, native or foreigner? I am aways that when I was the collarged eigner? I am sware that when I suggest the military force that may have to be sent into that ress Indian hostilities, he may say to ma

bill it is incumbent upon the honorable chair-e Committee on Territories to show that there saying to him, Wait a season; be not so impatient to mey in the supply of good and rich lands bor- build up a great northwestern empire. In due time all non the two Territories proposed to be establishing the bill; and to furnish us with some evidence that necessity for this measure arising from the flicting with any other great public interest. In a few years, by the regular law of progress and settlement, the population in the border States. Where years, by the regular law of progress and settlement, the population that demands such a policy? Is it in which swept first all the Atlantic States, and then the castern slope of the great valley of the Mississippi, of the many in Missouri, Wisconsin, or Minnesota? Where are

think, forbid me to forbear. My own relf-respect would forbid that I should forbear, however painful it may be to express any views in opposition to a measure which seems to commend itself to the almost unanimous which seems to commend itself to the almost unanimous approval and support of my Southern friends.

Mr. President, no one in this body knows better than yourself the fact that I took decided grounds in opposition to the Nebraska bill at the last session of Congress I opposed it with the greatest carnestness. That bill took have now he doubt highly excited by the prospect in any form or shape whatever. I wish to state sint to the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the bill of this session. It so happened that I was into the Nebraska bill at the last setter now that in the bearing lines of settlement on both sides of the Rocky Mountages than any within the bearing lines of settlement on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, but moving in adverse directions, will meet, over that I was the bear to the bear lands by the provincing the bear to the Indians or the public of inglines of settlement on both sides those on the westernslope of the Alleghanies, who have establishment of the Territories of Oregon, Minnesota, no chance or means dentering into an equal competition and Washington. It seems from present indications that Again, I think the honorable chairman of the Committee on Territoriespught to present to the Senate some which may attach to him as conditor imperii, to borrow rational and practicule scheme for the government and control of those numrous and wild tribes of Indians in quent Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. EVERETT,) he s emulous of the title of clarissimus conditor imperiorum. explored by the frontile settlers. What will he do with the Great Blackfeet and other wild tribes behind the policy of the ancient Greeks and Romans in hosteristics. plated by this bill extend into regions unknown and un- It seems to me that whatever other rewards he may repolicy of the ancient Greeks and Romans in bestowing honorary crowns on citizens who distinguished themselves Black Hills? Then, in addition to these, there are the twenty or thirty thousand belonging to the roving bands south of the Missori. What will be do with them? be entitled, not to one, but to ten civic crowns! I hope

> by me against the bill of the last session, that is, the borne from the manner it is understood among them that provisions affecting the emigrant Indian tribes. I do not the white man process to take up his abode upon their allude to it merely as an objection, but as one presenting an insuperable obstacle to the passage of this bill, unless it shall be found to contain some different provision. terest that, in measure of this description, embracing many provision of great importance to the country, to disregard our treaty stipulations with the Indian tribes, because they are a weak and feeble people, unable to resorb the attention of the Senate, to the neglect of every sist our power, any more than we would our treaty obli-other, howeve important. I have been myself so much under the influence of this cause, so unfriendly to wise we, as a Government or a people, act on such a principle, legislation, hat it was only within the last ten days that set aside at our discretion and trample under foot the most explicit and solemn guarantees?

> I know that is not the sentiment of any honorable Senathis bill had been extended to the extreme northern tor here; but, sir, as to the Nebraska bill of last session, andary of the United States, whereas the Nebraska bill although the Indian tribes and their lands, included within the boundaries of the proposed Territory, were expressly Here, sir, we have a proposition to organize two new Territorial Governments, extending through twelve degrees of latitude and over eight or nine degrees of lonexcepted from the operation of that bill, the honorable violation of the public faith. In order to demonstrate the justice of that denunciation, I must go into a brief review of the policy of Indian removal.

> This policy was suggested in 1808 by Mr. Jefferson. the Mississippi, and to protect those who were disposed to The country west of the Missouri and Arkansas was by cating what we are to expect after the passage of this bill, and also clearly enough the design of extending setrecommended that "there ought to be the strongest and that the honorable Senator will be able to find some should be theirs as a permanent home for themselves and plausible answer to all the objections I have suggested to their posterity, without being disturbed by the encroachments of our citizens.'

structions interposed in the execution of the policy of reconorable Senator he will understand when I say that, moval by two of the Southern tribes—the Cherokees and discussed in every part of the country. It gave rise to excitement. Perhaps but few Senagreat agitation and tors here now have any conception of the intensity of the interest and feeling which was awakened, particularly at the North, by the discussion of the questions ment of the question, no man knows better than the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) But in March, 1830, the policy of Indian removal received the sanction of both Houses of Congress, and became the law of the land. By the act of 1830 the President was expressly authorized, in treating with the Indians for the exchange of their lands east for lands west of the Mississippi, "solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is (might be) made, that the United States will (would rever secure and guaranty to them and their heirs and uccessors the country so exchanged with them.

The arguments by which the policy of Indian removal was sustained will be found in numerous official documents, n the speeches of members of Congress, and in the pub-

souri, and up some of its tributaries to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence down its richly wooded western surrounded by a white population they were sure to contract all the vices without adopting any of the virtues of civilized communities; and that as long as they remained in that condition their early extinction was inevitable; that their only escape from this destiny depended upon their removal to a country where they would be protected by the Government from all the evils and annoyances to which they were thus exposed in all future time. The country to which they were invited to remove was to be Indian country forever, or as long as they existed as tribes; the white man was never to intrude upon their lands or form settlements around them; no Territorial or State Governments were ever to include them within their boundaries. In their new homes they were to be free to be governed by their own laws and customs, unless they thought proper to change them; never to be interfered with by the Government but for their protec-

tion in the enjoyment of their privileges.

This further argument was urged in support of the policy of removal, that the Indian tribes which might emigrate to the West, on the conditions held out to them, would never again be molested and harassed by any new applications for cessions of their lands or to remove to a new country; for the more sagacious chiefs always knew that those tribes should never be exposed to the evils of that their people could seldom withstand the influences which their Great Father could bring to bear upon them or State Government should ever be organized or establishment. when he wished to treat with them on any subject.

These were the arguments by which the policy of In-

were also the arguments and encouragements held out to
the various Indian tribes residing in the States east of the
Mississippi to induce them to emigrate to the West, as will
and engagements and obligations of every kind entered
and engagements and obligations of every kind entered it closed appear from the talks held with them, from the instructions into by the Government with those Indian tribes shall be to commissioners appointed to treat with them, and in part from the stipulations contained in the treaties made with them. In some of those treaties the Indians required

nay safely conclude that at this moment there are the same that an one hundred millions of acres, not of indifferent lands, but of good cultivable lands, still remaining he taken up and occupied by emigrants in the same tion of the country.

They under such circumstances as these, it does seem one, Mr. President, that before a final vote is taken up and but of the country.

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They under such circumstances as these, it does seem of the country and forego present the but of the country and forego present tribes entered into treaties, and removed to the territy. To all such inquiries I would answer at once, by tory assigned and dedicated to them west of Missouri and Arkansas. Some eight or ten of those tribes, numbering at this time eight or ten thousand souls, received allotments of land west of Missouri, most of them occupying the territory embraced in the Nebraska bill of the last session and the Territory of Kansas proposed to be organized by the bill now under consideration.

And how did the provisions of the bill of the last session stand in relation to the obligations and guarantees of those recumulated masses of people rolled up by that tide of cargration, native and foreign, of which we hear so much! I desire the Senator, if he pleases, to point to them. Thave no doubt there is an eager and laudible lesire among all the settlers in the frontier States to I have no doubt there is an eager and faudible among all the settlers in the frontier States to the old and established policy of our Government in retheir condition by the acquisition of more land in lation to the Indians or the public domain, all obstructions will be removed. In a very few years the advancsequently to bring upon them all the evils which they had to encounter in the States whence they emigrated. It was for these reasons that I objected to and denot

There was another objection which I might have taken to the Nebraska bill of the last session, but which I did not because I would not be the first to throw down a gage, inviting a renewal of that sectional conflict which shock the confidence of thousands of good citizens in the sta-bility of the Union in 1850, and which I trusted never to see renewed in this chamber or in the country There is no longer any reason—and unfortunately, as I think—that I should forbear to suggest it. It was this: From the date of Mr. Calhoun's report, in 1825, and more especially since the act of 1830, sanctioning the policy of Indian removal, and the ratification of numerous Indian treaties made in pursuance of that policy, the country west of Arkansas and Missouri has been regarded as an Indian territory, dedicated and guarantied as a perma-nent residence for all the tribes which might think proper to emigrate to it on the terms held out to them by the Government. And here I would be pleased that the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase) would answer a question which I want to ask him, if he deems it worthy of a reply. I would like to know why and upon what authority, in his late appeal to the people on the subject of this bill, he designated the territory south of the line of 36° 30' as Indian territory, as distinguished from the territory north of that line? Mr. CHASE. I will simply ask the Senator if it is not

Indian territory?
Mr. BELL. But the other is Indian territory also

Mr. CHASE. Certainly.
Mr. BELL. It was so by the established policy Mr. CHASE. The territory south of 36° 30' was In-dian territory, and proposed to be left as such by the bill. The bill, if it is passed, would convert the territory north of 36° 30' into organized territory, excluding from it of course those portions which are inhabited by Indian tribes

not ceded by treaty.

Mr. BELL. No man, from the reading of that address. would have supposed that the territory north of 36° 30 was admitted to be Indian territory.

To resume my argument. It so happened that this Territory was divided into equal parts by the line of the Missouri compromise, 36° 30'; thus taking from the South a territorial area sufficient to form one more slave State, and from the North a territory large enough to form one more free State, according to the terms of the Missouri

The great object of securing a country for the exclusive and perpetual inheritance of the Indian tribes, when driven from their original possessions, was thus accomplished without any jealousy between the North and the South growing out of the slave question. The South, in surrendering the territory west of Arkansas, saw that the His plan was to remove those members of the several North made an equivalent concession on its part. I think tribes then residing east of the Mississippi, who prefer- I may say, from what I know upon the subject, that but miles to the State; and, but for the description of the second and tribes then residing east of the Mississippi, who preferred to seek their subsistence by the chase, to some suitarening from the south boundary of these Territories red to seek their subsistence by the chase, to some suitarent to the British possessions. That number ble country within the limits of the United States west of the North and the South, the policy of Indian removal, with the principles and guarantees upon which it was founded, the principles and guarantees upon which it was founded, cultivate the arts of civilized life in their possessions east | would probably never have been sanctioned by Congress. of the Mississippi, and also to encourage them in their possessions east of the Mississippi, and also to encourage them in their Unfortunately for the permanent success of this arrangement; it so happened that while the populous tribes which trated by the conflicting obligations contracted between Georgia and the United States in the compact by which Georgia ceded her western territory. The plan suggest—

under the permanent success of this arrangement, it so happened that while the populous tribes which emigrated from the Southern States to the country west of Arkansas occupied the whole of that portion of the Indian territory lying south of the line of 36° 30′, from large extent of territory, in addition to what was in the Nebriska bill of the last session? It will not do to say that so more is meant than to embrace in the two Territory of 1817 was based in part upon of the United States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In 1825 Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In 1825 Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In 1825 Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In this new policy. In this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of other this new policy. In the united States not included in the bounds of the line of 36° 30′, from the Nebrush and the united States not included in the bounds of the line of 36° 30′, from the Nebrush and the united States not included in the bounds of the line of 36° 30′, from the line of 36° 30′, f Territorial governments heretofore provided. It must be borne in mind that this bill, as originally reported, proposed to appropriate \$300,000 simply to defray the exception of the tribes in States east of the Mississippi.

The eight or ten thousand of the emigrant Indians, together with about an equal number of indigenous Indians, inhabiting the country west of mississippi. Missouri, do not seem to justify the exclusion of the white race from the large residuum of unsettled country around them; and sooner or later, whatever be the fate of this the tribes which might be induced to emigrate; and he bill, they will be compelled to yield to the inexorable law of progress, and seek yet another and a new home, if they most solemn assurance that the country given to them | can find one, or perish where they are, under the operation of those causes which have heretofore proved so destructive to their race.

What conclusion do I draw from all this? Why, that But the policy was not then settled upon a permanent the territory west of Missouri, having been set apart and basis. The difficulties and embarrassments in which the Government was involved with Georgia, and the ob- and so regarded for the last twenty or thirty years; having the sanction of law and numerous Indian treaties to sustain it; acquiesced in during all that period by both the the Creeks-caused the whole subject to be examined and North and the South, without alteration or disturbance; and this being free territory by the terms of the Missouri compromise, and the equivalent conceded by the North for the humane purpose of providing a permanent pos-session for the Indian tribes, for a like concession made by the South of slave territory on the other side of the connected with this policy. The tables of the two line of 36° 30', it amounts to a compact or understanding, Houses of Congress groaned under memorials and remonstrances, presented from day to day during the and the South, carrying with it obligations and a binding and the South, carrying with it obligations and a binding force, if of any less validity than any other compact, i so it continued for months. The fierceness of the strug-gle, and the obstacles to be overcome in the settle-ment of the question, no man knows better the continued for months. The fierceness of the strug-ment of the question, no man knows better the continued for months. tarily conceded by the North as would secure to the South the formation of a slave State, should the country turn out to be adapted to slave labor, as an equivalent for the loss of one south of the line of the Missouri compromise. And if the experiment should show that the country presented no adequate inducement to the introduction of slave labor, and it should become a free State, then the South could not complain if the North should profit by these circumstances which now seem to demand that this territory should change its destination, and become the possession and abode of the white instead of the red man. I have yet to consider whether the provisions of the present bill relieve it from the objections which I had to the

The grounds upon which the argument was maintained for the removal of the Indian tribes were taken from the early as well as the more recent history of the country. It was contended that all experience had demonstrated that as long as the Indians remained in content of the last session of Congress. Does the bill under consideration violate the obligations which the Government has entered into with the emigrant Indian tribes? The original bill reported by the Committee on Territories contained a provision of Congress. by the indian tribes from its operation, in the precise terms, I believe, of the Nebraska bill of the last session; yet it includes all the emigrant tribes west of Missouri within its boundaries, except two or three small tribes on the west line of Missouri and near the Cherokee boundary, and, like the bill of the last session, authorizes the formation of white settlements around the lands occupied by the Indians. So far the same objections exist to this bill that I urged against the bill of last session. But it is contended that all objections are removed by the amendnent suggested by the Committee on Indian Affairs, and engrafted upon the bill. It is in these words:

" And be it further enacted, That all treaties, laws, and other engagements made by the Government of the United States with the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory embraced within this bill shall be frithfully and rigidly observed, notwithstanding any thing contained in this act."

The amendment provides that "all treaties, laws, and other engagements made by the Government of the Uni-ted States with the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory embraced within this bill shall be faithfully and rigidly observed." The stipulations and engagements entered into by the Government with the emigrant tribes inhabit-ing the territory embraced in this bill were, among others, that those tribes should never be exposed to the evils of or State (Tovernment should ever be organized or established including their lands within its boundaries. The bill proposes to establish a Territorial Government including dian removal was sustained by Congress, and which, in time, reconciled the whole country to its adoption. These time, reconciled the whole country to its adoption. These were also the arguments and encouragements held out to or occupied by the Indians to settlement by the whites. faithfully and rigidly observed! I would ask, without meaning the slightest offence to any gentleman, could any thing be more preposterous than the argument that country with them. It some of those treaties the indians required that the guaranty against the establishment of any Terthat that the guaranty against the establishment of any Terthat accountricial or State Government, to include their lands, by the very terms of the bill, those obligations are violated and set at nought? It is a mockery to say that the enterthal and the specifically stipulated in the treaties made with